

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2848

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5676

EXDIS

E.O. GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT : ATLANTIC RELATIONS: MISSION'S PROPOSED ILLUSTRATIVE
AMENDMENTS TO REVISED FRENCH DRAFT OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION

REFS: A. USNATO 5597; B. USNATO 5624; C. USNATO 5646; D. USNATO 5608
E. STATE 211287

1. THERE FOLLOWS A USNATO RE-WORK OF THE REVISED FRENCH TEXT (USNATO 5636). TAKING THE FRENCH TEXT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE, IT REFLECTS COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS, U.S. POLICY AND GUIDANCE, AND OUR VIEWS AS TO THE DIRECTION WE SHOULD BE POINTING. I WOULD VALUE ANY COMMENTS WASHINGTON MAY WISH TO PROVIDE, PARTICULARLY ON THE MORE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES, AS NATO MOVES TOWARD COMPLETION OF THE NATO DECLARATION IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

2. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE TEXT BELOW IS A RESULT OF APPLY-
ING THE FOLLOWING DESIDERATA TO THE REVISED FRENCH TEXT.

1. AN ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE THE "WE-THEY" (US VERSUS EUROPE) ASPECTS THAT TEND TO DIVIDE THE ALLIANCE.

2. AN ATTEMPT TO EMPHASIZE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AREA, NOT SIMPLY OF EUROPE.

3. A DESIRE TO PUT NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES IMPLICATIONS INTO BETTER PERSPECTIVE.

4. THE ADDITION OF THE WORD "PARTNER" IN A MEANINGFUL CONTEXT.
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5. A REFERENCE TO APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR OF ALLIES TOWARD EACH OTHER IN NONDEFENSE MATTERS.

6. AN ATTEMPT TO TONE DOWN COMMITMENTS THAT MIGHT GO BEYOND THE

LANGUAGE OF THE TREATY.

7. A BELIEF THAT OTHER ALLIES ARE INTERESTED IN MOVING THE FRENCH DRAFT TOWARDS AN IMPROVED DECLARATION OF FIFTEEN. ON THIS POINT WE WOULD INTEND TO WORK IN SOME CHANGES BY SUPPORTING VIEWS ALREADY EXPRESSED BY SOME OF THE ALLIES, WHILE INTRODUCING OTHER CHANGES ALL ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS AS INSTRUCTED, DOING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OUTSIDE THE REGULAR COUNCIL MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE--BELGIUM, CANADA, DENMARK, FRANCE, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, GREECE, ICELAND, ITALY, LUXEMBOURG, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, PORTUGAL, TURKEY, UNITED KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES--DECLARE THAT THE TREATY WHICH WAS SIGNED 25 YEARS AGO, AND TO WHICH THEY ADHERE TO PRESERVE THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, ATTESTS TO THE COMMON DESTINY OF THEIR COUNTRIES AND THEIR PEOPLES. UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE TREATY, WESTERN EUROPE HAS REBUILT FROM ITS RUINS, ATTAINED AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF PROSPERITY, AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY. THE WESTERN WORLD, ITS SELF-CONFIDENCE REGAINED, DEDICATES ITSELF ANEW OF THOSE PRECEPTS OF CIVILIZATION FOR SO LONG ASSOCIATED WITH ITS NAME.

2. IN RECENT YEARS GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN BRINGING TO A CLOSE AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION AMONG NATIONS, IN OPENING AN ERA OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND TOWARD THE BUILDING OF A STRUCTURE OF PEACE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WELCOME THIS PROGRESS; THEY ARE CONVINCED MOREOVER THAT THESE DEVELOPMENTS, FAR FROM BEING INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE AIMS OF THE TREATY WHICH UNITES THEM, IMPOSE ON THEM THE OBLIGATION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE MUTUAL LINKS DERIVING FROM THIS TREATY. STATES THAT WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE AND FREEDOM HAVE NEVER DONE SO BY NEGLECTING THE DEMANDS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY.

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3. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE THAT THE ELEMENTS OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. AN APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF STRATEGIC ARMS HAS RESULTED IN MUTUAL VULNERABILITY AND A MEASURE OF MUTUAL RESTRAINT; AND, BY VIRTUE OF THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE CREATED AND MAINTAINED UNDER THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, THIS EXTENDS TO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE CHANGES, THE DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE TAKES ON A SPECIAL CHARACTER IN WHICH A STRONG CAPABILITY TO DEFEND WITH MODERN NON-NUCLEAR FORCES BECOMES INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT. THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE, NEVERTHELESS, TO ALL FORMS OF CONFLICT IN VARYING DEGREES. THE NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES, BY FREELY CHOOSING TO ADHERE

TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE SHALL BE
CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, AND BY CHOOSING TO
STATION ARMED FORCES IN THE TERRITORY OF THEIR ALLIES, SHARE
AS PARTNERS IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY
AREA, AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE DANGERS TO WHICH ANY INDIVIDUAL
MEMBER COUNTRY WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED.

4. THIS NEW SITUATION DOES NOT ALTER TWO BASIC CONVICTIONS,
WHICH THE ALLIES HERE REAFFIRM: FIRST, THAT THERE IS AT
PRESENT NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE NUCLEAR
FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES; SECOND, THAT THE CONTINUED
PRESENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN INDISPENSABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE
ALLIES IN EUROPE AS WELL AS IN NORTH AMERICA.

5. NEVERTHELESS, IN THE LIGHT OF THESE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALLIES
NOW RESOLVE TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING APPROPRIATE STEPS TO TAKE
ACCOUNT OF THE RISKS CONFRONTING THEM.

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THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE THREE-QUARTERS OF
THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE, AND TWO
OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF FULFILLING A DE-
TERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY
CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL
CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THE IN-
DEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE ALLIES AND OF
REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL.

EACH ALLY DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT COUNTENANCE ANY
SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE ANY MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE TO
EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE WHICH COULD LEAD
TO THE LOSS OF ITS FREEDOM. ALL MEMBERS RENEW THEIR PLEDGE
THAT THEY WILL MAINTAIN THEIR FORCES AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED
TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE
AND TO MAINTAIN THE MILITARY CAPABILITY TO DEFEND THE TREATY

AREA SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL.

ALL OF THE ALLIES AFFIRM THAT THEIR STEADY PURPOSE IS TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS. SINCE THE GOAL OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY, HOWEVER, IS TO FRUSTRATE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY WOULD SEEK TO SECURE BY STARTING A WAR, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT, IF THE USE OF ARMED FORCES IS DEEMED NECESSARY, ALL REQUIRED FORCES WOULD BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6. COMMON DEFENSE IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. THE COMMON GOAL IS TO MAINTAIN THE DEFENSE CAPABILITY TO DETER THE OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT THAT WOULD DESTROY THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALL OR OF ANY MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.

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THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER THAT THEIR RESOLVE TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THEIR COMMON DEFENSE REQUIRES OF THEM THAT THEY NEGLECT NOTHING WHICH COULD IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR OWN FORCES, AND THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD UNDERTAKE, ACCORDING TO ITS PLACE IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS FAIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF ALL.

AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CONSIDER THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ACCEPTED, IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT OR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH COULD DIMINISH THAT SECURITY.

SIMILARLY, THE PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNION SHOULD ENHANCE THE CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIED DEFENSE OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER STATES WHO ARE ALSO SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY.

7. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT THEIR COMMON AIMS WILL BE ACHIEVED ONLY IF THEY COOPERATE AND CONSULT, IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL TRUST, ON ALL PROBLEMS OF COMMON INTEREST, AS BEFITS ALLIES WHO SHARE A COMMON DESTINY AND WHO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY EACH BENEFIT FROM THE WELL-BEING-- POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC -- OF THE OTHERS.

IN THIS SPIRIT, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR CONSULT WITH ONE ANOTHER ON DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. RECOGNIZING THAT THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD IS CONFRONTED WITH NEW CHALLENGES TO THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLES, THEY WILL SEEK TO ADD FRESH DIMENSIONS TO THEIR COOPERATIONS. FURTHERMORE, WHILE CARRYING OUT THE INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL SEEK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

8. THEY STRESS THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY IS BASED ON A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS WHICH ARE THE FRUITS OF THEIR SHARED SPIRITUAL HERITAGE. SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FORBID ANY RECOURSE TO METHODS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE EFFORTS

WHICH THEY MAKE TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR
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SECURITY, AND TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THEIR PEOPLES
EXCLUDE ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY
OTHER COUNTRY, AND ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT THE GENERAL IM-
PROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

IN EUROPE, THE ALLIES' OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE PURSUIT
OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY.
IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE THEIR SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS
TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET BENEFITED FROM ALL THE AD-
VANTAGES OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS.

9. IN SO DOING, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE TASK THEY OFFER
THEIR PEOPLES, AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR YOUTH, IS COMMENSURATE
WITH THEIR VIGOR AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS. THOSE WHO WISH TO
ENJOY FREEDOM AND PEACE MUST ASSUME TO THE FULL THE RESPONSI-
BILITIES THAT GO WITH THEM. END TEXT.
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